776 292 the daily movement of the sun "which unfolds until evening." The regularity of the rays symbolizes order and the classification of beings and things by Faro. The /41/ ends of the straw sprigs forming the spiral must remain free: they represent the infinite extension of Faro's realm and power. The hat is also a mask "which hides Faro's invisible face and through which he watches over the world" (1).

1. Today, a basket of considerably higher dimensions is made and used by women (See pl. I, b).

[613] The headgear yugu was formerly reserved for the king, who wore it under a turban. Certain deserving old men were also permitted to keep it. The rituals of making and wearing this headdress attest to the importance attributed to it. In particular, when an old man was [695] suspected of having committed a serious offense, his hat was pierced with four holes representing the four cardinal points. He was then made to wear it, thus submitting him to Faro's judgment; if found guilty, he died.

776 As the spirit of the waters, Faro is supposed to belong to the white race and his body to be half albino flesh and half copper (pl. I, c).

776 713 A myth relates how his physical being was formed.

When Faro caused the streaming waters to descend on earth, he manifested himself for a long time only by his voice. He had no body, and since he needed appropriate matter to achieve one, he bided his time in the waters of the sea.

The winged spirit Téliko, who had the body of an albino, wished one day, in his arrogance and jealousy, to cross the world in order to know it and to dominate it. Faro, warned by the dogfish, decided to seize his enemy's body to complete his own. The albino, who always flew, fed on his own substance. He chewed his own flesh and his bones were soon bare; the marrow came out of them. It turned into red copper which fell into the sea and nourished Faro.

While Téliko descended to the water level, the dogfish that was watching him sang in order to attract him. The albino, aware of the danger, climbed back to the highest heaven, attempting to continue his flight and to reach the ends of the world. But he quickly lost strength and after his dya had fallen into the waters, his body was

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1. Bolo ti doniya ye dali duru sira ye, bolokoni kumba dãga ye dyẽ saba gundo ye, tyemasa. bolokoni ye dyẽ dura ye.

yo, of which only the first is r alized (2).

2. On the worlds thought out by yo, see pp. 23-26.

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On another level, the signs of the thumb are related to powers and those of the index to royal domains (fig. 1, nos. 8-12):

1. Sign zero (fu) represents the beginning of creation, the origin of all things. A curved segment extended from left to right denotes the dynamic quality of the universe. It is intersected by a multiplication sign expressing the infinite development of beings and things. But the vertical stroke crossing it on the left indicates both the cessation and the suppression of the whole (no. 11).

2. Sign of lightning. It expresses royal power and justice and is traced under the thumb ring of the king. The latter, when giving an order, would swing his hand, which means he is swinging lightning before those he addresses (no. 12).

3. Sign of the royal domain. The opening asserts the possible extension of the kingdom; the transversal bar is a protection of this kingdom from all destruction (no. 8).

4. Sign of the extension of this domain at the tree cardinal sides: east, west, and south (no. 9).

5. Sign of union. The oval represents the whole group of functionaries called tõdyõ and barodẽ, officers and councilors who administer the kingdom under the king's authority (no. 10).

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[783]

As the feet are constantly in touch with the soil, they take on its impurity. An individual who has gone through severe purifications will need to avoid putting his feet on the ground during a period of time occasionally quite prolonged, for "to place one's toes on the ground is to put one's soul in contact with the impure earth" (1). It

[241]

1. The invention of the shoe is mythically linked to the notion of the earth's impurity; the wearer must therefore avoid this contact.

[p. 22, category 116 — Analyst.]

*173
175 came, everyone was astounded to see him leave everything for the birds.

The oracle was fulfilled at once. Biton ruled from Timbuktu to the Atlantic. And the dyeli, Karé Tammoura, who told me the legend, adds that thereafter there was a very strange thing at Ségou: a combination animal and plant which the Bambara called Sanu-so or "golden horse." Ahmadou, the son of Omar, had a mosque erected on the spot where Sanu-so was wont to appear but, all the same, it did not disappear until the arrival of the French. Even since then, there are those who say that on certain days strange lights appear at the spot on the Niger where Monseigneur Hacquart died and where the genie appeared to Mamari.

[171] This fable about a local genie is not in itself remarkable, but when compared to the legend about Ngolo Dyara (see later, p. 51) and to many other similar ones current in the Sudan (2),

2. See, especially, the legend of Ndyadyane Ndyaye in "Légendes et coutumes sénégalaises [Senegalese Legends and Customs] by H. Gaden, 1912, and the "Dyide de Djenné" in Contes du Sénégal et du Niger, by Zeltner.

what it really is becomes clear: the figurative expression of a native mentality about which the European is usually very ill-informed and which deserves to be noted here briefly.

778 [23] Anything that departs from the average, the ordinary, or the normal -- power, wealth, success, ... illness, poverty, misfortune -- to any extraordinary degree or in a suspicious way, is, for the Bambara in particular and for the Black in general, the manifestation of an occult force acting either spontaneously or after provocation.

643 That is why, in the eyes of a native, a chief (a paramount 778 chief, of course) is out of the common run, not so much because of the position he occupies as because of the magic powers attributed to him (1). Power is merely the reflection of his

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1. Compare, on p. 31 and p. 49, the conduct of Dina Wara and of Biton.

efficacies in magic and he himself is convinced that this is true. Everything he does is accepted without protest because his acts have a supernatural character. The only ones who can resist him are those who, like him, have special powers (2). Therefore he

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2. Legendary traditions abound in magic combats; see especially the tradition concerning Dinga, the ancestor of the Wagadou people, and that concerning Samba Guéladio Diégui, the hero of Fouta.

makes a point of seeking the company and advice of initiates in matters that are hidden from the common herd. These are the sorcerers, magicians and marabouts, all of whom believe that they possess -- or appear to possess -- a share in the knowledge that allows its practitioners to influence the unseen. Sometimes he is one of them or becomes one, and in any event he is always, willingly or not, dependent upon them.

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778 This is an age-old state of mind, which Islam has merely strengthened, for the Black man, whether Moslem or not, always regards the marabout as a diviner, a performer of miracles, a maker of philters, talismans and amulets, and a caster of spells. Many facts attest the truth of this observation, and the tales which follow will afford examples.

*173 It is understandable that with such beliefs[1] the Black man could hardly be expected to admit that the life of an important person, a powerful chief or a founder of an empire, could possibly be or have been banal, ordinary or simple. That is why supernatural, fictitious deeds make up such a large part of the native historical traditions that one may look in vain for any trace of the actions we see performed around us day after day. One must be very thoroughly accustomed to this delusion in order not to give way to discouragement at being unable to grasp

[1] [i.e., in magical and occult power with influence over the supernatural. -Analyst]

*173 Dé-koro summoned the ton-masa and ordered him to assemble the ton-dyon' on a certain day, but on that day no one appeared. Thereupon, Dé-koro dispatched a Samaké to warn the slave leaders individually to turn up. They came and he asked them: "Why has no one been coming to the Monday and Thursday meetings for the last three months?" They replied: "You threatened us and we were afraid." He made an appointment with them a week from that day when they were to take an oath with him.

The general assembly desired by Dé-koro took place, but it did not result in the agreement for which he had hoped. The slaves decided among themselves to meet a fortnight later and to take matters into their own hands.

On the fifteenth day at dawn, the ton-masa entered Ségou bougou, Dé-koro's official residence. He went to the master's house and entered. There he met Dé-koro who, escorted by his blacksmith carrying a basin of hot water, was about to make his ablutions. Dé-koro had long since ceased to feel secure because the enmity and hatred which he sensed around him gave him no rest. He was afraid to be alone and his blacksmith was always with him. When he saw the ton-masa armed, he knew that something extraordinary was afoot and challenged him: "What are you doing in my house at this hour?" The ton-masa replied: "I have come to warn you that the hour has come to settle our accounts, for I have not forgotten the lashing you inflicted upon me." Turning to the blacksmith, Dé-koro told him to go and fetch spears. The latter obeyed, but at that very moment the ton-masa shot Dé-koro and, when the blacksmith reappeared, he killed him too beside his master. A griot named Koun-bilé, attracted by the noise, appeared just as the ton-masa was unfastening the piece of goat-skin which contained the chief's [643] amulets and talismans and appropriating the golden axe which was the insignia of command. Koun-bilé cried out and called for help; the sofa came up without hurrying. [58] The griot identified the ton-masa as the murderer, but they listened in silence and then helped him to hide in their ranks, whence he fled to So-finna.

*173 was taken, but, in the course of the attack, Ton-massa was [65] wounded in the ear by an arrow which could only have been shot by someone behind him and by one of his own people. The wound festered so rapidly that it was necessary to put Ton-massa on a litter to carry him back to Kohin. There he died, almost completely alone.

He had ruled for four years and was interred at Kohin.

*173 Kanou-ba-nyouma (1740-1744). As was customary, the
●643 ton-dyon' came to Ségou-koro for seven days. On the eighth day, when all were about to return to their villages, Kanou-ba-nyouma sent forth a griot, preceded by a boy carrying the bow and quiver of Mamari, the founder of the clan. The crier announced throughout the town: "The royal post (1) is now vacant. Our master lived

1. That is, the supreme command.

out his time and died; then followed the crime of the one who has just died. Now, let the man who feels strong enough to assume the vacant place take this bow and this quiver."

When the griot had covered the whole town, he returned to where the ton-dyon' were assembled and put down the bow and quiver in the midst of the group. Kanou-ba-nyouma then said: "Let the man who feels strong enough take these relics and the place of Mamari."

Ndyan, who was a Peul as was Kanou-ba-nyouma, then stated: "We Peul who guarded Mamari's sheep will also guard those of his successor. May the people of Ségou, therefore, pardon me for what I am about to say, for I speak in all sincerity and, I think, in conformity with the sentiments of this assembly. You are the only one, Kanou-ba-nyouma, who can take this place; it is your right as the oldest man after Ton-massa, who has just died."

These words were unanimously approved.

*173 "Very well," said Kanou-ba-nyouma, "I accept this bow and quiver, but the arrows must find their mark: we shall go to war." So, on the spot, he demanded a column and it was granted him. He attacked and took Niamina, then Sambon-na. Enriched by the spoils of the vanquished, he returned to Ségou-koro and rested there for a year. Then he summoned Da-son, Ton-massa's son, from Kohin and ordered him to return the gold which

2: Monteil--117 G-5 (1902-1923) 1924 FA8 Bambara FA8

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Massa and His Descendants (Massa-si-ou) (3)

3. "Native traditions often make out that Sonsa and Sounsa-Massa are one and the same person, to whom they give the title of massa or mansa, meaning 'king' in Banmana, so it is that the word massa-si or mansa-si should be interpreted to mean 'descendant of the king' and not 'descendant of a man named Massa'" (Delafosse, in Traditions historiques et légendaires, p. 52, note 4).

"The Kouloubali who were descended from Niangolo, the elder brother of Baramangolo, had adopted the title of Massa-si (descendants of the king) because they belonged to the senior branch."

It is evident that this interpretation does not correspond with my text. However, I have often been told by native traditionists that Massa-si meant "descendant of a man named Massa." It might be that Sounsan-Massa was a double name applied to a single person, as was the case for several Massa-si chiefs, including Seba-Mana, Gran-Forokoro, and Massa-Bakari. Even though a single person is meant, that would still be no obstacle to the assumption that the word Massa-si means "descendant of Massa" by an abbreviation of Soun-san-Massa, since we have analogous examples: Biton-si and Ngolo-si are used to designate respectively the descendants of Mamari-Biton Kouloubali and Ngolo Dyara. It is true that Massa-si, composed of massa meaning "king," may refer to a whole royal lineage, but it should be noted that among

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the Bambara with whom we are concerned, the expression Massa-si is only used when referring to the royal lineage of Kaarta.

Massa (1670-1690). In order to combat Massa, the Marka people of Darigo summoned the Bambara who were [108] under their authority and whose principal chiefs were the following: Tonnéguéla Mari-dyan Dembélé; Konikoni Tiénégué Dyara; Tiéma Dyara; and Sanou-ba-Mamari Dyara of Fala-da-la.

The siege of Sounsan-na began. Thanks to preparations made in advance, Massa was able to hold out for many months, while making sorties against the attackers.

However, neither side had prevailed when, in the eleventh month, Massa managed to escape during the night. Followed by the boldest of his followers, he fell on the village of Mari-dyan Dembélé, sacked it and, loaded with booty, managed to return to his tata. He appeared next day on the roof to taunt Mari-dyan and showed him his favorite wife and her finest embroidered blouse.

Such audacity gave the other chiefs food for thought; each of them reflected that Mari-dyan's fate might be in store for himself and so the Bambara chiefs took counsel. However, just as the discussion was about to get started, one of those present, Sanou-ba Mamari Dyara, withdrew, saying that he did not want to take part in any deliberations along with a one-eyed man, because the only result would be a disaster. He was referring to Konikoni Tiénégué Dyara who, indeed, had only one eye.

Upset by these circumstances, the allies parted to return home; so Massa was saved. However, at the instigation of the Marka people, the Bambara chiefs made all the trouble they could for Massa. They sent word to Ségou to the descendants of Barama-Ngolo that the fugitives vainly sought by their ancestor were still in their country and they offered to help in any undertaking against them (1).

1. Massa is reputed to have had 67 sons and 76 daughters. In principle, he imposed

439 By the south -- Guinea: rubber, ivory, gold, livestock, rice, millet. Ivory Coast: Sahel salt, livestock, wax, karite, native cotton and wool cloth and blankets. Gold Coast: livestock, native cloth.

443 In addition, all centers of any importance had a large periodic market which was a sort of regional fair, plus a small daily market which permitted the inhabitants of the locality to obtain provisions as needed.

b. Caravan Commerce

443 484 Over and above these markets, a long-distance caravan trade is carried on by the Haoussa and the Dioula, who transport their merchandise in the north with beasts of burdens, in the south by human bearers. These movements continue a commercial tradition and have been altered only by legislation. Before the conquest, any man who wished could enter this commerce on the condition of paying his "Fama" the usual sum. The traders, to protect themselves against brigands, traveled [42] in caravans. Practice had it that the [787] traders consulted a priest before leaving to find out if their undertaking would succeed. After the usual sacrifices, the priest revealed the name of the one who would direct the group. The caravan chief could even be a captive, but everyone owed him obedience because a divine force inhabited him. To each state which is crossed, the [651] caravan paid a customs fee on entering and asked the Fama for permission to cross, indicating the extent of their route and making propitiatory sacrifices in each region. Sometimes certain districts, such as the region of Bougouni, forbade blood sacrifices for fear of bringing down evil forces on themselves. The caravans then let loose an animal secretly at night.

c. Commercial Practices

438 643 Everything could be sold except gold, which was the property of the Fama. No one was supposed to possess gold. If the gold miners of Bouré could sell the gold extracted from the mines, when the buyers entered the Bambara country, they had to present it to the Fama. If he did not wish to buy it, he authorized certain rich people permanently settled in the district (that is, who would be unlikely to leave) to buy

438 the gold. But they, in turn, could in no case resell the gold to any-
643 body other than the Fama. Aside from certain sacrificial uses and the
[648] making of jewels for the Fama's wives, gold served to ransom captives or to negotiate royal alliances.

435 The price of the commodities was set by agreement between buyer and seller, except for cloth which had a fixed price, 100 cowrie shells per cubit in the Bamako region. As a matter of fact, the cot-
[286] ton gathered in the fields of the community was woven by captives who were not paid.

426 Loans were made without interest. Interest, korko, is still
686 forbidden today. Loans are guaranteed by labor. The debtor who could not repay his debt on time and whose family head refused to pay it for him was seized by the Fama and held as security until such time as he had reimbursed his debt.

804 Side by side with French units of measurement, the natives use their own for trade. Their measures of length: the cubit (elbow to tip of middle finger), the span, the foot, the length of both arms extended, the pace, the diare, and the kala . . . ; their measures of capacity: the sawel or moure, the mud; their weights: the moutkhal, the catal, the large and little karoni, the wakie, the pellet of tali, of tomi, of bagana, of gelen. Cotton is weighed on rough scales whose pointer is a wooden rod and the balances large gourds hung by strings. For weights, large rocks, kulu, from 800 to 1,200 grams are
[436] used. Finally, the Bambara use French money almost exclusively: one franc of metropolitan France is equivalent to 0.50 francs C.F.A. Nevertheless, the use of cowrie shells is still frequent.

d. Banks

453 One bank of issue exists in French West Africa: the Bank of French West Africa. There are also private banks, the number of which has increased during the past few years.

The Bank of French West Africa, which has a branch at Bamako, carries out the following operations: [43]

1. discounts notes or bills of two or several signatures due in not more than 180 days;

2. creates, negotiates, or buys drafts;

561 and religious life). The young men of the same soli form what is called a flambolo. Three consecutive classes of flambolo form a flanton. The women have a parallel organization. Each fulani is a ton-den (child of the ton), with a corresponding association.

561 241 476 The association's role, apart from the seasonal celebrations and the copious feasts, accompanied by a great deal of drinking, is that of a mutual aid society and of a veritable village work cooperative. It is organized, administered, and articulated with a view to the agricultural work. The chief, kariku, expedites current business, with the assistance of a syere (witness, deputy). He has a treasurer who receives offerings and makes payments, the femmaraba (he who preserves things), plus an honorary president and an adviser, chosen from among the notables and delegated by them; he must supervise the society and orient its activities.

This social organism rests, in the last analysis, on the exchanges of services initiated and supported by the kariku. He sees to it that help is forthcoming to a man making the customary work payments in the fields of his parents-in-law or future parents-in-law (in exchange for food and drink furnished by the parents-in-law to these ton-den). In like manner, a farmer asks the kariku for help in clearing a field of brush. This request is made through an intermediary or a sénanku who [58] accompanies the request with ten kola nuts. The chief accepts the present and calls his council into session to study the affair technically and to fix the salary. The same procedure is followed for the winter weeding, which calls for rapid completion, as well as for building dams, irrigating canals, paths, roads suitable for carting, etc.

[431] [824]

An analogous system exists for the female kari, for sowing the crops as well as for gathering the harvest, mutual domestic aid, etc. The two groups collaborate for the seasonal celebrations.

● 643 d. The Fama. -- We see that the canton is a grouping formed under the authority and influence of a dominant family. Its unity is determined by political, social, and religious laws which regulate it. The fa or head of the dominant family becomes the Fama, that is, the patriarch, chief of the canton. He then often renounces the administration of the faya, which he turns over to his second (syere),

643 so that he may keep separate the interests of his house and those of the country.

Nomination of the Fama. The title of Fama remains in the family around which the canton has grown. Power passes from older to younger brother until a generation dies out, then goes to the oldest brother in the next generation, for, as a general rule, the living male nearest to the original ancestor should reign. However, the history of Ségou shows us how certain Fama have tried to establish direct succession from themselves to their eldest son. But the
643 accession of the Fama is submitted to the ratification of a council
645 of notables which includes the following persons.

a. The young chiefs, male descendants in the first degree of the Fama; they are directed by the eldest among them, with the second eldest being his syere or heir presumptive.

b. The old masters who are the Fama's brothers.

c. Their sons and all circumcised fathers of families.

643 Power of the Fama. The power of the Fama is founded on custom and religion. He is the earthly representative of all the ancestors; he is the radiating center which gives life to all the society; he is the Word of his people. He decides the crops, regulates commerce, concludes alliances, declares wars, renders justice, imposes taxes. He is the guardian of custom and the legislator of new laws, the organizer of the time and space he governs. His word
[326] is very powerful and dangerous; his decisions are whispered in the ear of a blacksmith, who repeats them aloud to the assembly. His very glance makes his subjects tremble, and they approach him grovelling, forehead in the dust. No quarrel may break out in his presence, no violence committed; his power over men and goods is
[645 absolute. Nevertheless, all his decisions are taken after consultation
646] with the notables and with the assembly of delegates from each village. If one of the members of the assembly disagrees with the Fama about a point of law, he gets up and leaves the meeting without saying anything, marking his disapprobation in this manner. When a law is
[695] passed by all the assembly, each member swears an oath, on the tomb of an ancestor or the altar of the komo [one of the mens' societies], in behalf of himself and his descendants.

608 [59] No one may oppose the Fama's will, except his sénanku
643 who has the power to stay the chief's decisions, particularly in case of acts dictated by anger: murders, wars, etc.

The Fama's resources came from the work of his familiars,
643 from a levy on wild foodstuffs, half of the war booty, all otherwise
651 unowned goods, from certain precious substances, such as gold and
652 ivory, from taking part of every animal killed in the hunt and the skins of all wild animals brought down, all receipts for the right to hold markets, for grazing, and for changing pastures, tolls for river crossings, fines, and from the sale of prisoners of the law. On the other hand, he had to meet the following expenses: to feed and clothe the members of the community in the case of need;to maintain the warriors (give them a groom, a wife, a rifle, a horse); bestow favors on people of caste, feed them, clothe them, arrange for their marriages if need be; make offerings to charity; receive strangers; feed prisoners detained for judgment or otherwise held.

643 The Fama ordered all work of common interest: construction
653 and maintenance of fortifications, clearing trails, preservation of springs, construction and upkeep of the mosque if one was needed, making pirogues for common use, setting up rest platforms.

These works were carried out through payments in labor. The work was divided up among the villages by the Fama, and the village chiefs in turn assigned it to family heads. He who did not carry it out in person could have it done by members of his family; he who refused could be obliged to comply by force.

642 Bambara society rarely achieved a systematic and centralized form of organization analogous to our European kingdoms. What has been dignified with the name of "empire" was scarcely more than an organization which reflected the attraction exercised by a family, by reason of its prestige or its power, on groupings which accepted its suzerainty. As Monteil has shown very well, a family's effort at domination has always been directed at groupings of people and not at territorial expansion.

642 The whole of these groupings constitutes the Ton. This in-
565 cludes:

1. a chief, the ton-tigi;
2. the local chiefs, fa;

692 In matters of justice, the Bambara frequently continue to consult their old tribal judges. It must be noted, however, that in taking [177 away the judicial competence of the old chiefs, the French ad- 622] ministration has contributed to diminishing, and almost to completely destroying, their power.

671 The Bambara had a judicial organization quite as precise and regulated as their religious organization, although there was no codified law, such as the Koran or the Hebrew tables of law. Justice was rendered according to rules which each community passed on from generation to generation. These rules are not of divine origin, but they [69] are sacred nevertheless, for custom is the legacy of [643 the ancestors. The Fama and his council of notables could promul- 645] gate new laws, but, before deciding on a new rule, they consult the Komo and the Nyama [an altar]. Then, in the presence of a priest, each one swears on the altar to obey the law which becomes sacred. Moreover, the customary rules cannot be separated from the moral code and the religion to which they are linked. They are not uni- [184] form; each canton has its own, and often each village, and within each of these there are observances peculiar to certain families or to certain castes. Nevertheless, the sentiment of fair play is very strong [181] among the Blacks, but they do not admit the equality of men, who are naturally different one from another according to their aptitudes, means, and condition.

Custom regulates all relations between individuals and between individuals and the collectivity.

692 Two sorts of native tribunals existed in the Bambara country: a tribunal of conciliation, presided over by the village chief, who assembled a council of notables; and a high tribunal presided over by the Fama, to whom were submitted the matters which the first tribunal had been unable to settle. In addition, the Fama could call before his tribunal the civil or penal matters which seemed to him to be of importance to the public order.

695 Justice was without charge and rendered day and night by the 643 Fama as one of his essential functions, for the judge is the one who repairs the disorders that shake society. The hearings were solemnly conducted and took place under the silk-cotton tree (Ceiba pentandra)

695 or in the chief's vestibule, that is to say, under the light of a certain
643 constellation and witnessed by the founding ancestors who link the judge with the supernatural powers. The Fama was seated on a throne perched on a platform; at his right were the notables, at his left the griot, the priests, and the old captives; behind him stood the
[195] sofa. The blacksmith or a captive repeated aloud what the Fama whispered, for the Fama should not raise his voice. Neither women nor children could attend the public sessions. Formerly, the mere view of the Fama filled the accused with terror, and he prostrated himself in the Fama's presence. The Fama could put the accused in irons until he was judged (1).

1. V. Paques, "L'estrade royale des Niare" [The Royal Platform of the Niaré] Bull. de l'Ifan, Vol. XV (1953), No. 4.

671 Bambara law sought above all to make reparation, to restore order, and only after that to punish.

a. Proofs (2)

2. Passim. Coutumier juridique de l'A.O.F. [French West African Common Law].

695 The plaintiff must prove his case, and the accused must prove his innocence. Elements of proof may be confession, testimony by witnesses, oath taking, expert opinion, and examination of the scene.

If indications of guilt are strong enough, the Fama may force the accused to confess by having him whipped.

Each party may call witnesses in the following order: circumcised men, married women, unmarried girls (who, however, cannot [70] take the oath), and, lastly, children if there are no
[608] other witnesses. The sénanku are exempted from bearing witness against each other.

428 3. and 4. as above for the head of the family; 5. oldest full brother; 6. oldest half-brother on father's side; 7. the family; 8. the village; 9. the Fama ... Married women may transmit personal property in the following order: 1. her oldest son; 2. her husband's oldest son by another wife; 3. the husband; 4. the woman's family ... [587] At the death of her [73] husband, a woman is not required to marry his heir." (1)

1. Ortoli, Coutume bambara (cercle de Bamako) [Bambara Customs (Bamako Circle)].

851 We should explain here the notion of seniority which is not always easy to distinguish in a polygamous society. As a matter of fact, when two wives of the same husband bear children at roughly the same time, an intermediary announces the births to the fa, and the first baby to be announced is considered to be the oldest. It may even happen that the first one to be announced is in fact the last-born; [845] he nevertheless remains the senior. In the case of twins, the senior is the one brought forth last, for it is thought that twins are not conceived at the same time, and that the last-born is the one first con- [551] ceived. Certain special names are used for the oldest children: N'tyi for boys, Nya or Nyélé for girls.

643 At the Fama's death, several lines of succession are involved: that of his own family, that of the family community, and that of the patriarchy.

As far as election to the title of Fama is concerned, we have seen how the new Fama was the senior male of the same generation and same family as the deceased Fama, or the eldest of the following generation. It is noteworthy that in the case of no male heir, the succession passes to the Fama's daughter whose husband governs in her name; but that is an exceptional case.

643 When the new Fama is designated by the notables, he oc- 644 cupies the fortified residence of the previous Fama, where the founding ancestor is buried; the women and children of the deceased Fama must leave these premises. While his father lived, the Fama's eldest son led a luxurious and independent life; he often commanded an important dugu, sometimes founded by himself. At his father's death, he is a very important person for the new Fama.

596
776 elders; and above them, as undisputed lord, soars the eldest, the
181 gouatigi, or head of the family.

All the gouatigi are subject to heads of quarters, led by the
776 dougoutigi, (1) or village heads; these obey the kafotigi, or heads of
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1. The dougoutigi, or religious head of the village, takes precedence over the sotigi, or civil head. I believe that since the time of Carrier, administrator of the circle in 1901, this hierarchy as such has been officially done away with. It persists nevertheless, and the kafotigi and fama déou, priestly in character, secretly retain their prestige.

the canton, who in turn are governed by the fama déou, sons of the king or ministers. Such was the original organization of the Bambara, and all these petty chiefs, were absolute and uncontested lords, each in his own sphere.

776 Above them all there was the king, Fama or Massa (2), whose
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2. The word Massa, used to designate the king, also means "great and powerful sorcerer." In the beginning the king really had absolute power, both civil and religious, and was really the prince or pope of fetishism. If he were not, would he have been given the title of Massa, "great priest," "great sorcerer?"

chief function was to allow himself to live in affluence and /74/ sweet idleness. He held all his subjects in his hands; all were his slaves, from the least to the highest, and he had the power of life and death over each and every one.